10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women.

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity,

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[1]

> The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

In view of the theories of a Caucasoid origin of the Polynesian peoples it is likewise very desirable to keep clearly in mind the possibilities and probabilities of modern intermixture.

> From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

Another point of interest is Handy's statement to the effect that the Marquesans are very accurate in remembering ancestry and as a general thing showed neither desire to conceal nor to boast of white blood if they had it. It is not a matter either for pride or shame. The amount of unadmitted modern white blood in our series is very probably negligible.

TABLE 1.—THE POPULATION OF THE MARQUESAS

DATE OF CENSUS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
1. Prehistoric:	Estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000, fluctuating with periods of plenty and famine.
2. 1773:	Cook estimated 50,000 for three southeastern islands. About 100,000 for the entire group.
3. 1804:	Krusenstern estimated 16,000 for Nuku Hiva. About 50,000 for entire group.
4. 1838:	Dupetit-Thouars estimated 20,000 for the entire group.
5. 1856:	Jouan estimated 12,500 for entire group.
6. 1867:	Lawson manuscript gives 7,411 for entire group.
7. 1884:	Clavel estimated 4,865 distributed as follows:

[1] Personal communication.

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

	Men	Women	
Nuku Hiva	524	456	
Ua Huka	105	84	
Ua Pou	196	180	
Fatu Hiva	321	318	
Tahu Ata	260	260	
Hiva Oa	1,116	1,045	
Total	2,522	2,343	4,865

8. 1905: Pacific Islands Pilot gives 3,500.
9. 1922: Estimated roughly at 1,800.

Method

All measurements were taken in accordance with the regulations of the International Agreement. In outline the measurements were as follows:

Anthropometric characters

1. Stature: recorded to the nearest centimeter (shoes removed).
2. Shoulder height: same position as in 1.
3. Arm length: acromion to tip of middle finger.
4. Height sitting.
5. Arm reach or span: maximum.
6. Head length: glabella to opisthocranium.
7. Maximum head width.
8. Minimum frontal diameter.
9. Maximum face width: bizygomatic.
10. Bigonial diameter at the angles of the mandible avoiding as much of the muscles as possible.
11. Anatomical face height: nasion to gnathion.
12. Nasal height: nasion to subnasal.
13. Nasal width: alare to alare avoiding pressure.
14. Physiognomic ear length or height.
15. Physiognomic ear breadth.

Indices

16. Relative shoulder height $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 2} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
17. Relative arm length $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 3} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
18. Relative sitting height $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 4} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
19. Relative arm reach or span $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 5} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
20. Cephalic or length-breadth index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 7} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 6}} \right.$
21. Transverse fronto-parietal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 8} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 7}} \right.$
22. Transverse cephalo-facial index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 9} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 7}} \right.$

/6 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions. 161 119

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the proportions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%. 162

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child. 843 842

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating (mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided 841 842 [997]

/53/

female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small and the females available as sexual partners are either few or completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent opportunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

838 883 [361] [162] [162] [123] [522]

/57 cont./
on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional reported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander. Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female. In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35.

/58 cont./

Although the male:female ratio of the total population does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. Therefore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley. Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his chances for marriage, however; for anyone seriously looking for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or make regular weekend visits. 162 [484]

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual relations. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concerning this practice. 839 [124]

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions or explorations of one variety or another, where men were isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a reappraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratification: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse. [521]

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copulation with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings, producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva fan" by informants.

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

161 175

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

163 165 175 [847]

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

161 175

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

162 175 648

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/83 cont./
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before. 162 175 648

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry.

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past.

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows:

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records).

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample.

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100.

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva.

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago.

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the